Article

SEXUALITIES

Abstract Contemporary debates regarding sex work in Cuba pose a simplistic opposition between pre-revolutionary prostitution before 1959 and Special Period *jineterismo* in the 1990s, obfuscating the links between these periods and denying the legacy of the Cuban state's discipline of women's bodies. This article situates *jineterismo* amidst a historical context to explore the phenomena as a continuous practice of state regulation of sex work and women's bodies in Cuba. Despite the structural changes initiated by the Revolution, I demonstrate the persistence of state forms of bodily regulation both ideologically and materially from the colonial and republic period, early revolutionary campaigns, through contemporary Cuba. I highlight how notions of morality and honor, dependent on particular invocations of race, gender, and sexuality, have fueled state regulatory projects before and after the Revolution in Cuba. Cuban women's bodies were/are pathologized and constructed as deviant and in turn policed by the state, both materially and discursively.

Keywords body, Cuba, gender, honor, morality, race, sex work, the state

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Continuous Moral Economies: The State Regulation of Bodies and Sex Work in Cuba

If prostitution is a tangible, permanent social fact that is damaging to the community, the government, which has the supreme responsibility to watch over the wellbeing, preservation, and progress of its people, should take an upfront attitude and pay attention towards it so it can be the least harmful possible.
(Dr Ramon Alfonso, 1912)

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> Cuban women, [now] products of a free and just society that has abolished privileges and has become owner of the means of production and equitable distribution of resources, do not need to resort to prostitution for economic motives to sustain their children or themselves.
> (Federación de Mujeres Cubana, 1993)

> Today's young women practice *jineterismo* for the 'freedom' to go out dancing, dining, going to concerts, visiting Varadero beach or other resorts, and shopping in dollar stores, not out of economic necessity but by choice for consumer goods and recreational opportunities.
> (Federación de Mujeres Cubanas, in Strout, 1996)

Introduction: *Jineterismo*, A New Phenomena?

The term *jineterismo* emerged in the particular context of the Special Period in Cuba, the decline of the economy since the late 1980s with the collapse of the Soviet Union,[1] and is seldom used outside of this context. *Jineterismo* in Cuba has come to be understood as a 'new' social phenomenon. Yet the term and the phenomenon itself has become quite complicated. Sometimes *jineterismo* is referenced as sex work, and sometimes it is not. The literal translation of *jinete* is a rider or horseman; translated as 'to ride' or 'jockey'. While the origin of the word is unknown, some Cuban scholars believe that it derives from popular Mexican language relating to those who obtain earnings '*en forma indebida'* or in extra-legal, improper ways (Diaz and Gonzalez, 1997: 173). Others interpret *jinetear* as 'breaking in a horse', or as 'gold-digging' (Facio, 1999; Fernandez, 1999). However, more colloquially *jinetear* is understood as 'hustling for dollars', often referring to any activity outside of one's salaried employment.

Discourses and practices surrounding *jineterismo* point to a complex interlocking of morality, race, class, gender, and nation that ultimately challenge the revolutionary narrative of social and racial equality. The policing and contestation of bodies for the sake of controlling *jineterismo* reveals much about race, class, and gender in Special Period Cuba. Class coded racialized images of Cuban women made for different interpretations of their encounters with foreigners (Rundle, 2001).

The economic crisis of the Special Period after the late 1980s forced many Cubans to seek alternative sources of money in an informal economy. *Jineterismo* is associated with *divisa* (foreign currency) and/or foreigners; it denotes Cubans who dedicate themselves to the black market exchange of money and/or traffic of products that could only be acquired in dollars. *Jineteros*, according to Cuban journalist Rosa Miriam Elizalde (1996a: 26), originally existed in the black market to change Cuban money to foreign money when it was forbidden for Cubans to have *divisa*. Cubans did not

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have much access to dollars as they were paid in *moneda nacional* (Cuban pesos), but needed products only found in 'dollar' stores. Under the dual economy, having access to or buying products in *divisa* often meant having to associate with a tourist or non-national.[2] More colloquially *jinetear* is understood as '*montarsela'* (to mount oneself) in terms of the objective of 'working' or plundering money and/or resources from a foreigner. A *jinetero/a* can be someone who occasionally accompanies tourists to obtain particular benefits without the requirement of a sexual relation; it can refer to a non-sexualized exchange. However in many cases *jineterismo* includes and refers to Cubans, usually women, who sell sex to foreigners. The term began to typify marginal groups of younger people who 'began to put prices on their bodies inciting the boom of prostitution in the 1990s' (Elizalde, 1996a: 24).[3] Therefore *jineterismo* is a term used to reference sex work in contemporary Cuba.

Debates regarding sex work in Cuba tend to pose a simplistic binary opposition between pre-revolutionary prostitution before 1959 and Special Period *jineterismo* in the 1990s, obfuscating any discussion of related topics spanning the years in between these periods.[4] According to this view, prostitution was eliminated in the early revolution and did not become an issue until later when the 'similar, but different' phenomenon of *jineterismo* surfaced. Casting *jineterismo* as 'new' has the discursive effect of distancing contemporary issues from Cuba's pre-revolutionary past. The creation of a separate term *jineterismo* as a 'new' phenomenon further disavows historical experiences that speak to the continuity of state regulation of women's bodies in Cuba. From this perspective, *jineterismo* has no historical antecedents, and appears to arise whole cloth from contemporary social relations. This erasure denies the legacy of the Cuban state's discipline of women's bodies.

Jineterismo in today's Cuba is not 'new'. State forms of bodily regulation persisted ideologically and materially from the colonial and republic period to the early revolutionary campaigns through contemporary Cuba. Placed in historical context, *jineterismo* appears as a legacy of earlier periods, and shares more with prostitution than we commonly assume.

Notions of morality and honor, dependent on particular invocations of race, gender, and sexuality, have fueled state regulatory projects before and after the Revolution in Cuba. From the colonial era to the present day the bodies of Cuban women were pathologized and constructed as deviant. The Cuban state developed ways to police and control these 'hazardous' bodies, both materially and discursively. From the 17th century until the onset of the Revolution in 1959, under the rubric of public health, the disciplinary mechanisms of *La Reglamentación* institutionalized, criminalized, and controlled the bodies of 'public' women, those assumed be such, and those who did not conform to dominant

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societal gender and racial norms, especially women of color. After 1959 under the rubric of morality, women's bodies continued to serve as a way to classify them as failed members of society. The ideas, values, and categories ascribed to sex work and the bodies of women have been and continue to be deeply engrained in the development of political, economic, and cultural institutions in Cuba.

Race, Gender, and State Control of Sex Work in Pre-Revolutionary Cuba

The control of women, especially women of color, was central to the growth of colonial Cuba. The colonial state developed formal regulations for 'prostitution' and built houses to relocate and supervise women, forcing them to comply with the social order of the island. From its foundation, the colonial state reinforced, medicalized, and institutionalized racist and sexist conventions about the bodies of women via its regulation of 'honor' and sex work. Prostitutes, or better said those assumed to be such because of their non-conferral to bourgeois racial/gender standards, were considered a stain on colonial society, a dangerous social and health threat. Public health, with underlying moral principles, became the primary rationale for policing and persecuting these women under the system of *Reglamentación*.

The regulation and control of sex work and women's bodies in colonial Cuba was contingent upon racialized and gendered concepts of morality and honor. Institutions embodied racial and gender 'norms' in an effort to regulate public spaces and social status on the island. In essence, the state pathologized women of color. These practices in Cuba reflected the Spanish antecedents of *limpieza de la sangre*. This metaphysical notion of racial 'cleanliness of blood', which was used to measure lineage equality, was transplanted by colonists to the Caribbean as a mechanism to govern the islands and maintain white superiority. This framework, upheld through religious and legal institutions, was essential to the continuity of Cuba's racial hierarchy and social economic system.[5] Family respectability, inheritance, and status were articulated through ideas of honor and controlled via marriage to reinforce and regulate Cuba's racial hierarchy and female subordination.[6] As Jane Collier (2000) notes, concern about the breakdown and regulation of morality in public life was about the regulation of social order. Strict marriage requirements of the Church and state ensured the maintenance of 'pure lineage'. These notions of hypodescent under the rubric of honor maintained racial segregation, as blackness was regarded as a contaminating 'stain' on one's honor (Martinez-Alier, 1974: 15). Racial notions of 'honor' were the criteria for

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distinguishing and monitoring non-white populations, legitimizing segregation, and defining citizenship in political-legal terms.[7]

Meanwhile, a family's honor also hinged on the sexual reputation of its women, calling for the control of female sexuality through the vigilance of men, again in the interest of social purity.[8] Marriage structured patrimony, linking the control of female sexuality with economic rights and obligations (Collier and Yanagisako, 1987). Female sexuality outside of the 'duty' of reproductive function was deemed immoral, a 'stain', especially if outside of wedlock. Although men were praised for their virility, sexual freedom emerged as a social marker to define women; female promiscuity was a threat to the colonial order (Martinez-Alier, 1974: 109).

Yet standards of morality were differentially applied to women of other social classes. Women of the laboring class occupied the male public realm, threatening patriarchal authority. Women of color, already 'corrupted' by their African ancestry, were marked as immoral and dishonorable, not real women of virtue (Martinez-Vergne, 1999: 111; Suarez-Findlay, 1999: 20). Meanwhile, given the pervasive ideology of *blanqueamiento* and the legal prohibition of interracial marriages, women of color could not be redeemed through marriage.[9] Their engagement in sexual relations outside of wedlock was a 'sin' that placed them outside the status of honor.

Given the threat of miscegenation, negative stereotypes were developed and imposed on women of color to maintain their subordinate status. Women of color appeared as innately promiscuous and sexually licentious. Their sexuality evoked fear, stigma, and demoralization. As a popular phrase put it, '*No hay tamarindo dulce, ni mulata señorita* [There is no sweet tamarind fruit, nor a virgin mulatto girl]' (Martinez-Alier, 1974: 118). The invocation of the *mulata* as an instrument of pleasure transformed her into a threat to white women. This erotic image of the lustful, exotic, and seductive *mulata* became canonized in popular imagination, further marginalizing women of color and legitimating white male social, economic, and political power in colonial Cuba.[10]

These racialized and gendered ideals of honor became part of colonial institutions that medicalized deviance from traditional norms. Formal structures developed to keep 'problematic' populations under surveillance and limit the mobility of blacks and women. 'Immoral' non-reproductive manifestations of female sexuality, especially prostitution, were regarded as pathological and in need of control. The law labeled such women a 'Venereal Danger'. The habits of prostitutes it considered 'a dissolving action upon the morality of society' (Alfonso, 1902: 47, 1912: 120).

In this light, the colonial state founded *Casas de Recogidas*,[11] the genesis of Cuba's regulatory public health and cultural reform regime. The *Casas de Recogidas* promised to 'unwrap [these women] of their primitive

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societies, prevent prostitution, and supervise and correct its women' (Alfonso, 1912: 66). The mandate of these *casa-carcels* (house-jails) was to house and isolate women who were 'without resources', 'poor', 'at risk of moral laxity', 'generally incorrigible', and 'swept into prostitution'.[12] Women earned their release only when judged to uphold desirable female traits of docility, submissiveness and respectability. Discussion around the *Casas de Recogidas* centered on issues of health and hygiene. Authorities considered clandestine prostitution as the major factor in men's contraction of venereal disease (Alfonso, 1902: 47). This belief served as a justification to regulate and police the bodies of women.

State control of women's bodies continued throughout Cuba's transition from a colony to independent republic.[13] In 1901 the *Comisión de Servicio Higiene de Cuba* drafted its general rulings regarding *Reglamentación,* the systemic regulation of prostitution. Policies were 'to prevent attacks on public morality and guarantee collective health' (Alfonso, 1912: 65). This system relied on three basic operations: registration of prostitutes, health inspections, and hospitalization of those who were found to be sick.[14] Registered prostitutes could only work in areas labeled *Zonas de Tolerancia,* zones of tolerance, which were on the perimeter of urban areas. Participation in this system was not voluntary. A special police task force persecuted 'public and disobedient women' who did not formally register and often ordered these women to pay fines.[15]

The Cuban Revolution and the Campaign to Eradicate Prostitution

With its triumph in 1959, the Cuban Revolution initiated social and economic transformations on the island, including agrarian reform, urban housing, universal education, health care, literacy, and worker protection. The eradication of sex work became a symbolic measure of national purification. With its claims of socialist egalitarianism, prostitution turned into a relic of capitalist bourgeois exploitation and degeneracy that needed extermination. The Cuban Revolution endeavored to eradicate prostitution, rehabilitate its victims, and return 'the dignity of humanity' to women (FMC, 1993: 7).

Under socialism, women's liberation included the end of prostitution. In 1959, with a population of 6 million, Cuba had over 1 million prostitutes, 95 per cent with rural origins (Elizalde, 1996a: 37). With the collaboration of its different state institutes and organizations, the government began closing brothels and developed programs to re-socialize prostitutes. It charged the newly formed Tourism Police with the control and registration of women dedicated to prostitution. The government

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also initiated a health campaign that prohibited the practice of prostitution until a woman could see a doctor and have a rigorous physical examination. Prostitutes had to undergo required blood tests to ostensibly guarantee minimal health, which also allowed for surveillance and observation (FMC, 1996: 17).

By 1961 the Ministry of the Interior (MININT) nationalized the campaign against prostitution in three phases: census and persuasion, measures of '*contar y captación'* (count and capture) that directed women to schools of 're-education' where they would later be incorporated into work centers, and finally the repression of those unwilling to undergo rehabilitation (FMC, 1993: 3). The state program hoped women would be sympathetic to this 'process of social reinsertion' after they were offered school, work, healthcare and childcare (Diaz and Gonzalez, 1997: 169). With targeted *Zonas de Tolerancia,* Cuba's prostitutes became the first beneficiaries of the Revolution whether they liked it or not.[16]

The *Federación de Mujeres Cubanas* (FMC) undertook the first phase of *censo, acercamiento* and *persuación* (census, approaching, and persuasion). Groups of *federadas,* visited brothels and took census information which permitted them to learn about the women's family, material conditions, and potential work locations. They talked with women and explained to them the tenets and ideas of the Revolution (FMC, 1993: 19). Yet, the state continued to perpetuate racialized understandings of the bodies of prostitutes. For example, studies about prostitutes that emerged from state health institutes purported dominant racist theories that scientifically attributed the 'rising exacerbated libidos' and 'sluttyness and licentiousness' of Cuban women of color to biological racial factors.[17]

The second phase of 're-education' had three principles: elevation of school level, raising political consciousness, and collective work. After the 'census', women attended re-education/rehabilitation centers located at the outskirts of the city. There, women spent the day doing agricultural work, the products of which were consumed in the schools themselves. According to the FMC, each center had adequate sanitary conditions, doctors, spacious dormitories, and ventilation. Some also included childcare, stipends, and scholarships for women with families as incentive for attendance (FMC, 1993: 26–7). These centers provided seminars on topics related to literacy, etiquette, diction, dress, personal hygiene, classes of 'cultural and political uplift', and *ciclos de charlas* (talking circles) on different educational themes. Job training prepared women for the routines of work once they ended their re-education program (FMC, 1993: 26).

While the state's campaign initially allowed women to voluntarily participate in the centers, the third phase targeted pimps, still active prostitution, and others who tried to impede the campaign. The state

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deployed additional measures in its campaign, such as decommissioning brothels, passing ministerial resolutions to revise radio, television, print media, and press programming, and closing theatres that offered pornographic shows or films (FMC, 1993: 23–5). MININT also encouraged clandestine prostitutes to work during established hours so they could occupy their free time with activities of a 'productive character', such as agricultural labor. Trucks went into distinct agricultural zones and farms daily, where women worked for four hours.[18]

By 1963 the state declared that the closing of brothels in all provinces and the end of *Zonas de Tolerancia*. The Revolution attributed the success and efficacy of its anti-prostitution campaign to the coordination and coalitional efforts of its various state organizations. Two years later, the state proclaimed the elimination of prostitution, announcing that Cuban women 'now had the opportunity for a dignified life' (FMC, 1993: 36). Since everyone considered the problem solved, there was little to no public discussion of sex work until the early 1990s, which saw the emergence of *jineterismo* during the economic crisis of the Special Period.

Jineterismo in Contemporary Cuba: Morality, Race, and the State

The changes of the Special Period are central to understanding sex work in contemporary Cuba. As mentioned, *jineterismo* emerged during the redevelopment of tourism on the island. Tourism proved to be a double-edged sword. While it boosted the economy, the industry also promoted a world of consumerism and pleasure off limits to most Cuban citizens (Fusco, 1998: 163). The resulting two-tier society, a sort of apartheid, separated privileged foreigners and unprivileged locals (Facio 1999). Tourists were catered to and granted access to areas, services, and goods off limits to Cubans.

Jinetear often was used with the phrase '*estar en la lucha*', or 'to be in the struggle'. It connoted not only a seeking of money and/or resources, but also the motivation of survival for doing so. In this sense, *jinetear* articulates a sacrifice of revolutionary values, but one that is not deemed shameful since it is done to help others. However, the Communist Party and government officials viewed *jineterismo* as an unnecessary moral failing of women. Following this line, Elizalde (1996a), a journalist from the state newspaper *Juventud Rebelde*, claimed that *jineteras* do not consider themselves prostitutes and that *jineterismo* is merely an option to gain money without doing much physical work. So rather than acting from extreme poverty, *jineteras* sought to maintain modes of consumerism and secure the possibility of marrying a foreigner to leave the country.[19]

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Described in this light, *jineterismo* becomes a practice informed by a personal decision by young women otherwise capable of engaging in more dignified and less risky activities. Under this rubric *jineteras* are labeled as social deviants with limited social values (Facio, 1999: 61). Because women do not practice it with any particular frequency, the actual numbers of those involved in such practices are unpredictable.

This characterization of *jineteras* corresponds with views that the Special Period marked a crisis in the moral and socialist values of the Revolution, representing a rise in individualism. Vilma Espin, president of the FMC, denounced *jineteras* as decadent trash whose parents lost control of them. They 'reject work as a way to earn a living, don't study for career preparation, don't link love with sexual relations, and are influenced by other people, mainly peers' (Fusco, 1998: 161). Other FMC officials reaffirmed that *jineteras* have ethical lapses and merely reject sacrifice. According to them *jineteras* voluntarily strip and divest themselves of the values that they were given by the Revolution and seek alternative, easy paths to economic survival.

MININT affirmed the state's focus on morality in attributing the motivation of *jineteras* to superfluous desires and longing for money to satisfy these needs. It psychoanalyzed adolescent women as having limited aspirations, a weak sense of belonging to their families, and negative attitudes in respect to socially acceptable moral values, such as of dignity, honesty and honor.[20]

A political cartoon on the cover of one major MININT report illustrates this focus on values and morality. A Cuban woman, assumed to be a *jinetera*, appears in a short tight dress with her hands crossed at her chest talking to a Cuban police officer who is writing a ticket. She comments: '*Me robaron toda la pacotilla que le he tumbado a los últimos extranjeros con los que he estado . . .!Hay que ver que la gente ha perdido los valores morales!*'[21] The cartoon comments on the irony of a *jinetera* complaining about the moral deterioration of society, while she herself is obviously part of that deterioration. It insinuates that because she is a *jinetera*, she is without values, and does not have the right to make a claim on the protection the state offers its citizens. The cartoon also makes a statement regarding a hierarchy of moral standards; it is okay for Cubans to rob tourists, but not other Cubans. Robbing itself is not a transgression, but robbing from 'your own' is.

Jineterismo is fundamentally distinguished from and set up in opposition to 'traditional' prostitution, in particular pre-revolutionary Cuban prostitution, because of differences in the economic system, time period, causes, and organization (Elizalde, 1996a: 68–73). According to this line of thought, in pre-revolutionary prostitution, under the context of capitalism and imperialism, poor, uneducated, and desperate women

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involuntarily participated in a slave-like sex economy out of economic desperation and as a means of survival. Prostitution, conceptualized as an explicit exchange of money for sex, was professionalized, institutionalized, and a full-time occupation organized with networks of women, pimps, brothels, *casas de citas,* and 'zones'. But then, the state eliminated prostitution in the years following the Revolution.

Unlike pre-socialist prostitutes, *jineteras* are educated, cultured, healthy, empowered and 'cleaner' women.[22] Since the Revolution eliminated class structure, providing equal opportunity for advancement with universal education, those who participate in *jineterismo* must do so by choice (Facio et al., 2001: 121–7). *Jineterismo* is a type of intermittent behavior that does not necessarily involve a direct exchange of sex for money, or exchange of money, or sex for that matter.[23] Thus the state has characterized *jineteras* as morally superficial and lazy, motivated by consumption: the desire to have fancy clothes, enjoy themselves, and go places where Cubans are not allowed (Cabezas, 1998: 83).[24] Finally, it has differentiated *jineterismo* from the global phenomena of prostitution by arguing that *jineteras* are not victims.[25]

Given the economic necessity for the development of tourism, the Cuban government initially turned a blind eye to the growing sexual subsector of the industry. The government sent a message of indifference and inaction, wavering between denying its existence and treating it as a public nuisance.[26] By the early 1990s, *jineterismo* were generating international attention.[27] The rising attention of Cuban *jineteras* became an embarrassment to the Revolution and forced the state to develop offensives and measures to deal with the problem.[28] The *Policia Nacional Revolucionaria*, (PNR) specifically addressed cases of sex work and processed them through the index of *peligrosida* (danger or threat).[29] Other measures included sanctioning pimps and others who benefited from *jineterismo*, (taxis, doormen, home owners, and so on), and tribunals confiscating homes.[30] In the mid 1990s the state invoked more public offensives against *jineterismo* that included police sweeps of key areas, stiffer penalties, crackdowns on hotel guards accepting bribes from tourists, and rumored work camps where apprehended prostitutes were jailed (Fusco, 1998: 161). In 1995 the PNR regrouped more than 6000 *jineteras*, detected 400 rented homes related to the phenomenon, various commissioned cars, and about 15 clandestine *paladares* (restaurants in private Cuban homes) with the help of municipal organizations and neighbors themselves, all of which were put at the disposition of the tribunals (Elizalde, 1996a: 59–60).

New methods for evading the police kept surfacing.[31] By 1999 the government was stepping up its war against women who accepted gifts or money from foreign men. In a January speech attacking crime, Castro announced he was sending the *jineteras* back home to their rural villages

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and any girl seen roaming, dancing all night, and wearing extravagant clothes would be sent to rehabilitation. According to Fidel, the work of the special PNR brigades needed to continue because: 'it hurts too much that a country that has done so much to dignify women that foreigners can come trick her, fill her with vices . . . to corrupt her' (Paternoso, 2000: 18).

A MININT study in 1996 also recommended several preventative measures against *jineterismo*. These measures included revamping general and extracurricular educational activities, including the teaching of political ideology, with the goal of rescuing the authentic values and traditions of the socialist society and promoting a revolutionary code of ethics. They would push a definition of health emphasizing humanistic principles of interpersonal relations and sexuality with love. They also suggested a campaign to de-mask prostitution as a mode of economic survival and instead publicize its high moral costs as well as its physical, psychological, and social risks. The study also advised systematizing knowledge about sexuality and amplifying current mechanisms for re-education (Mazola Fiallo et al., 1996).

The government's response to *jineterismo* has not gone unchallenged. Some argue that the *Codigo Penal* is insufficient to deal with this type of phenomenon. Aurelio Alonso, investigator of the *Centro de Estudios Sobre America*, advised against police treatment, noting that *jineterismo* demonstrates that what the Revolution achieved was reversible. Police repression, he argues, converts women into criminal figures, impels women to reinforce their ties of dependence, and fortifies this informal subsystem. Rather, he advocates intelligent, not triumphalist tolerance toward *jineterismo*. The state has also been criticized for its focus on changing the behavior of women rather than male *jineteros*, *pingeros*, tourists, or businessmen, attacking the demand and not the supply (Elizalde, 1996b: 30; Facio, 1999: 73).

While some Cubans believe that race has nothing to do with *jineterismo*,[32] many argue that the majority of *jineteras* are black and *mulata* because blacks in Cuba are disproportionately poor and the continued existence of a rigid racial hierarchy enables blacks to utilize and manipulate their bodies as a mechanism for social mobility.[33] Moreover tourism is an industry that sustains post-colonial relations of power and dominance, reinforcing categories of 'other' and 'difference' historically caught in logics of domination and denigration (Clancy, 2002). The (re)emergence of sex work in Cuba perpetuates racial fantasies regarding sexuality rooted in desire and exoticism that reinforce notions of Eurocentric white upper-class superiority (Fernandez, 1999; Fusco, 1998). Tourist economies of desire dollarize, fetishize and commodify the Cuban body. Reified by tourism, the racist stereotype/myth of the sexual licentious *mulata* and her mythical

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sexual power still carries enormous power. White male tourists continue to imagine black women as sexually available objects.[34] Female black bodies are commodities to be bought and consumed.[35] While statistics do not exist documenting the racial discrepancies of *jineteras*, this stereotype becomes reified in everyday practices. Thus the issue becomes not who is a *jinetera* per se, but who is interpreted and assumed to be one. Racism comes into play with the policing and profiling of *jineteras*, often assumed to be women of color. Whether a woman is seen as a *jinetera* depends on the kind of exchanges or encounters taking place, but also on her race and class position (Rundle, 2001).

The racialization and stereotyping of Cuban women of color reify long-standing sexualizing and exotifiying images that serve to cast relations between AfroCuban women and male foreigners as purely sexual (Fusco, 1998: 98). The policing of women of color replicates the historical trajectory and ideological construct of sexually available, exotic, and erotic 'others'. Dominant representations portray working class and women of color as pathological, greedy, without Revolutionary consciousness, promiscuous and licentious. As Coco Fusco notes, the fuss surrounding *jineterismo* reveals certain biases regarding race, class, and gender that Cubans have not shed, making racial divisions more apparent (Fusco, 1998: 160).

Given these racialized connotations of the bodies of women of color, power relations are inherent in the act of labeling someone a *jinetera* (Rundle, 2001: 5). Young AfroCubans, male and female, who for whatever reason are present in touristy areas, are particularly exposed to harassment, which further cements the association between blacks and illicit activities.[36] Race plays a prominent role in determining who is marked or assumed to be a *jinetera/o*. The presence of a light-skinned 'tourist' with a dark-skinned 'Cuban' is taken as a red flag and immediate marker of *jineterismo*. Racialized discourses and understandings of *jineterismo* play out and manifest themselves in the bodies of women, particularly women of color. Regardless of how distanced and uninvolved these women are from *jineterismo*, they become racialized as such. In tandem with colonial representations of promiscuous and exoticized women of color, their bodies continue to be sexualized markers and policed.

Between Prostitution and *Jineterismo:* A New Moral Economy?

Historical Connections

The development of discourses that situate *jineterismo* as its own phenomenon and oppose it to prostitution results in a resistance to

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acknowledging *jineterismo* as a form of sex work. Prostitution and sex work in all its variants/definitions did not disappear with the onset of the Revolution, despite its anti-prostitution campaign. Situating *jineterismo* along the spectrum of activities constituting 'prostitution' would suggest a failing of the Revolution and its propaganda of racial and gender equality. While the government's efforts were noteworthy, they were only partially effective. This highlights how pre-revolutionary notions of race and gender continue to shape life in post-revolutionary Cuba.

Scholars such as Amir Valle (2002) refute the Revolution's 1965 claim that prostitution had been totally eradicated. Valle argues that while it remained hidden from public view, the commerce of sex survived. The early Revolutionary measures, he criticizes, only understood and fought against visible factors such as brothels, prostitutes, and pimps. For example, when women were released from the work camps and reinserted into society as workers, many did not return to the areas where they previously performed their trade. They continued working, but did so in a hidden fashion (Valle, 2002: 183–5). Other scholars note that while the exchange of sex for money did not technically exist after 1965, the 1970s and 1980s saw the manifestation of prostitution in ports where, because of their positions, maritime employees and officials had access to prostitutes, who therefore directed their activities towards them (Diaz and Gonzalez, 1997: 173). Therefore prostitution never disappeared in Cuba. Instead it took on a less visible, but still detectable form after 1960. As Valle highlights, zones of the sexual economy emerged with more complicated characteristics that reflected the language and ethical behavior of the socialist system.

Meanwhile the 1970s and 1980s appeared as a period of an '*auto-bloqueo*' or '*bloqueo interno*' (auto-blockade or internal blockade). While nothing comparable to the scarcities of the Special Period, inefficient economic management resulted in significant restrictions on the distribution of common goods, requiring the development of alternative ways to access goods and status (Valle, 2002: 189). For example, early in the Revolution the persecution and firing of homosexuals left many employment vacancies. In many sectors of mass communication such as television and radio, a number of women reached job posts by means of *convenios sexuales*, sexual agreements. These sexual *convenios*, generally did not end with just obtaining a job, rather they could provide prolonged ascendancy up the social ladder. The strengthening of the sexual link between the interested woman and the man in power directly related to her rise in position (Valle, 2002: 187). These *convenios*, Valle argues, accounted for the massive hiring of employees of mediocre talent in areas connected to dancing and commercialized shows outside the country.

This technique of sexual contact in exchange for a favor – as a favor 'pays a favor' – began to appear in the 1980s as a new form of

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prostitution along with a simultaneous application of criteria for work in cultural institutions (Valle, 2002: 187). While new ethics laws and the moral ideology of the revolutionary society condemned prostitution, or sex for money, the search for a better economic position through a relation of interest or benefit existed in semi-formal ways as early as the 1970s. Yet the public and the state directed antipathy toward women who did not maintain stable relationships (Elizalde, 1996a: 24). During this period, the term *puta*, became applied pejoratively, indistinctively, and generally to women without stable or 'official' relationships with their partners, or those who looked for life improvements through the sale of their bodies (Valle, 2002: 187).

Furthermore, sex workers emerged long before the current wave of *jineterismo*. In the 1970s, *Titimania* was a large bureaucratic business movement that extended to all levels of Cuban society and played a role in the emergence of this new form of sex trade. Sex workers operated with the tacit approval of MININT, which reported on exchanges with foreigners or older men who were usually high-ranking political or military officers. These men played sugar daddy to younger women. (Fusco, 1998: 154). More than 5000 new prostitutes between the ages of 18 and 35 began enjoying social and economic distinctions that the government awarded to political leaders and Cuban businessmen (Valle, 2002: 187). This social phenomenon was widely acknowledged on the island, even in popular culture.[37] However, by the late 1980s, the state denounced this type of corruption pre-empting the 'Rectification of Errors and Negative Tendencies', a state initiative that included demotions and judicial processes against corruption.

This period saw the use of various colloquial terms to describe different levels of involvement in this sex industry before the Special Period. In addition to street denominations like *tembomana, gasolineras, fleteras*, and *vijeras*, Valle describes five categories of activity. *Callejeras, fleteras*, and *cohetes* were women who looked for dividends from any man who could maintain them without caring about their level in society. *Carretilleras* and *puntos* were girls who slept with any (old) man or boss in exchange for something specific, like dinner or a night in a hotel. *Bichas* and *sanguijuelas* were women who maintained relations with some five to six men at a time in exchange for a particular higher status, but the relations were kept in secret. While *señoronas* and *madamas* were lovers '*de turno*' (taking turns) with certain people in power in the government, political party, or big business, *Amantes* were women in relationships with *pincho* clients who had real power and lofty positions. These men provided such women with a house, car, and a quality of life far superior to most Cubans.[38]

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By recognizing the presence of sex work during the 1970s and 1980s, we can disrupt the binary opposition of pre-revolutionary prostitution and post-revolutionary *jineterismo.* Pre-revolutionary cultural notions not only continued to structure contemporary Cuban life, but also an existing cultural context fueled the *jineterismo* 'explosion'. The idea of *jineterismo* being a 'new' social aberration reinforces the idea that the practice arose from external influences, or that its causative factors originated only within the context of the Special Period and not the social-cultural fabric of Cuban life. The notion of a 'favor for a favor' common during the 1970s and 1980s clearly connects with contemporary notions of *jineterismo.*

Acknowledging this link to *jineterismo's* cultural formation would mean facing the limited success of state social programs, debunking the notion that *jineterismo* and its precipitating modes of social relations originated solely from economic crisis or desperation. This so-called 'crisis in morality' linked with catastrophic economic collapse, in fact, existed before the Special Period and had antecedents in the historical epoch that contained the utopian revolutionary moment.

Choice, Agency, Victimization, and Accountability

Another theme at the center of the differentiation between prostitution and *jineterismo* is that of choice and motive. Pre-revolutionary prostitutes, who were poor and uneducated, the conventional wisdom claims, entered the trade involuntarily and out of desperation. But *jineteras*, represented as empowered and educated, chose to involve themselves in *jineterismo* for frivolous reasons and because they lacked the moral fabric to make better judgments. Notions of victimization and agency are central to this dichotomous portrayal: prostitutes come to be seen as helpless victims with hearts of gold who deserve to be saved, that is, worthy objects of the Revolution's early programs. In contrast, *jineteras,* as beneficiaries of the Revolution's egalitarian notions of gender equality, are morally corrupt women because of their 'choices'.

This discourse of opposition has two important effects. First, it accepts the fact that both prostitutes and *jineteras* exercise agency in making personal decisions about their bodies, regardless of their background and demographics. Second, it allows *jineteras* to have the failures of the state inscribed upon them as individuals. This suggests that being poor (i.e. the state's responsibility) is more socially acceptable than being immoral, placing contemporary poverty out of the government's hands. The discursive focus on individual 'choice' obfuscates any structural analysis of the matter, individualizing the issue, assigning blame to individual women, diverting attention from the social situation and divesting the

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state of accountability. This rhetoric takes the lens of analysis and critique away from the state. Making *jineterismo* an individual, non-systemic issue protects the government's reputation, hiding the inadequacies of its system. The proclaimed success of the Revolution is left intact. These discourses displace *jineterismo* into a domain of culture or morality, averting attention from indications that social marginality can be understood as a product of social structures and processes (Rundle, 2001).

Ironically while *jineterismo* is attributed to the Special Period and thus economic crisis, any possible economic motive becomes overshadowed when *jineteras* are psycho-pathologized and criminalized. The government pathologizes and prosecutes women who transgress traditional socialist social protocol. *Jineteras* agency and 'choice' are both acknowledged and repudiated, because they do not align with dominant understandings of the Revolution, while at the same time they epitomize the thrust of *Jineteras* being in '*la lucha*'. Actions, activities, and 'choices' assert their individuality in a way that is threatening to a socialist society where the collective should be prioritized. These 'choices', related to consumption and capitalism, are ideologically opposed to the tenants of socialism.

Furthermore, the focus on individual women and their bad 'choices' inscribes the issue as a moral, rather than political economic issue of inequality. Prioritizing *jineterismo* as something other than an exchange of money for sex again obfuscates the broader economic structural issues at play. In pre-revolutionary *Zonas de Tolerancia* the state was able to control both the women involved and the profit generated. Yet, without such institutionalization, *jineterismo* is outside the hands of the state. As journalist Silvana Paternoso (2000) suggests, what is really up for debate is whether the state benefits from such activities or is in a position to control them.

The focus on the moral deviancy of individual women disguises their 'capitalist' deviations. What would it mean to highlight that empowered and educated women were consciously making rational and calculated decisions ideologically opposed to socialism? The government's exaggerated moralist rhetoric becomes activated when private practices grow enough to threaten the state's control over the economy (Fusco, 1998: 163). Discourses of moral pathology that represent *jineteras* as shameless, lazy, frivolous, superficial, sexually available, immature, irresponsible, and so on, serve to de-legitimate their agency and ability to choose, while also hiding the fact that the state cannot control or benefit from a particular sector of society that is 'successfully' achieving what the Special Period has made necessary for state and citizen alike. Situating *jineterismo* within the continuity of *Titimania* and relationships between Cubans and non-nationals during the 1970s and 1980s disrupts this dichotomy and implicates the state directly. Since tendencies of capitalist consumption

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existed in Cuba after the Revolution, *jineterismo* cannot merely be 'blamed' on the Special Period.

In addition, the discourses that differentiate *jineterismo* from prostitution are vital to the maintenance of Cuba's image. Managing international press and attention, both negative and positive, has been pivotal to Cuba's development. The debate surrounding *jineterismo* purports Cuban exceptionalism, differentiating Cuba from rest of Latin America, the Caribbean, and the world. The rhetoric suggests that other countries have prostitutes who are victimized, while Cuba does not. A psychological dynamic is at play here, in that Cuba's *jineterismo* 'problem' is not as bad as what takes place in other third world countries.

Since *jineterismo* is a term specific to Cuba, the state can differentiate itself from third world counterparts by emphasizing how its health and education statistics are on par with developed nations. These discourses frame *jineterismo* as a national domestic issue, rather than an international global phenomenon. In this way, Cuba can downplay the Revolution's shortcomings. This also allows Cuba to distance itself from global problems such as women's inequality, sexual exploitation, and gender subordination. Overall the discursive struggles surrounding *jineterismo* have important implications for the meaning of socialism and the reputation of the Cuban government.

Conclusion

As Mary Douglas (1966) notes, in times of social crisis, when national borders and identities are threatened, there is likely to be concern with the maintenance of existing bodily boundaries and the purity of bodies. The regulation of women's bodies in Cuba has and continues to be explicitly related to political economy. The state garnered revenue from and played off the racialized, gendered, and sexualized cultural notions surrounding the bodies of women of color. During the colonial and republic period, Cuba strove to overcome its precarious place in the global order, developing policies to accelerate 'progress' to resemble white industrialized European countries. Cuba's control of prostitution during the colonial and republic period invoked its commitment to modernity.

Meanwhile, the Revolution's early anti-prostitution campaign and post-Special Period discursive differentiation between *jineterismo* and prostitution is central to the maintenance of the Revolution's identity, image and reputation. The irony of the state's moral judgments against *jineteras* is that with its implemented changes, such as the redevelopment of tourism and the renewed reliance of foreign collaborations, the Cuban state itself was engaged in hustling. The island has been in *la lucha* since the implementation of the US embargo, an underdog in the face of global

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capitalism. Even though the Cuban government itself took a 'temporary step back from socialist goals' with the economic crisis, it did not grant such moral leeway to women. Furthermore, the state's contemporary development of tourism is predicated on the reification of difference along the lines of gender, race, and sexuality. Tourists come to Cuba for exoticized and romanticized 'culture' and 'difference'. Thus in addition to targeting women on the streets, the state once again not only fortified notions of difference, but also profited from the bodies of Cuban women that were being consumed and differentiated.

The regulation of bodies, as exemplified in both pre- and post-revolutionary Cuba, reflects the continued investment of the Cuban state in the body politic. The bodies of Cuban women were/are institutionally and symbolically policed, regulated, and 're-educated' in relation to their sexual behavior. Even though the Revolution took a different stance on prostitution after 1959, parallels exist with policy and practice before the Revolution. The contemporary debates surrounding *jineterismo* provide insight into the persistence of gendered and racialized realities that transcend the post-1959 era.

The values and principles incorporated into the state's ideas about the body work to establish racist and sexist hegemonic norms and regulatory ideals that justify the surveillance of women's bodies. It becomes clear that the body has and continues to be an instrument of modern disciplinary power in Cuba. The ways in which the Cuban state regulates bodies and the discourses contextualizing them are implicated in relations of domination and subordination and ultimately contest the Cuban Revolution's claims of socialist egalitarianism.

The historic and contemporary control and surveillance of women's bodies in Cuba serves as an example of biopower. The knowledge, power producing, and deploying agencies of the Cuban state define 'populations' in terms of something determined as being a problem. In this case the problem of female sex work became synonymous with social deviance, pathology, and criminality. Classifying these women as such, the Cuban state could then seek to 'manage' them in particular ways. This classification goes beyond a collection of individuals who come to be discreet subjects of the state. Rather, masses of bodies and their activities become bounded by parameters or criteria of defined nationhood.

The significance of the *body politic* in Cuba and the ways discursive strategies referencing the body have and continue to be deployed give cultural meaning to political and economic experiences and national identity (Scheper-Hughes and Lock, 1987). This essay has argued for continuity in how the Cuban state has regulated women's bodies. These discourses and practices are a mechanism by which conventions of racialized and gendered sexuality are produced and maintained. The

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state's moral orders constitute discursive violence that has and continues to have material consequences on the lives of women.

The realm of virtue, honor, and morality, as articulated in discourses of the body and sex work, are an integral component of the contemporary Cuban state and its extensive interventions into the social. These ideological formations and constructs of race, gender, and sexuality have roots prior to the bourgeois state and remain an inextricable part of the growth of the modern Cuban state. The ways in which gender, race, and sexuality intersect in today's Cuba, as ideological constructions with material implications, are directly linked to their development and regulation in Cuba's colonial and republic eras. But we can observe that connection only by situating contemporary social processes in history.

Notes

1. In the late 1980s Cuba lost approximately 80 per cent of its economy with the collapse of the Soviet Union, its main trading partner. This severe economic crisis became known as 'The Special Period in Peacetime', since the country had to utilize contingency plans, rationings and war measures. The Special Period marked what officials considered a temporary retreat from socialism. Cuba was forced to develop alternative reforms and strategies to integrate itself into the market-driven global economy such as heavily promoting tourism, introducing a dual economy to the island, and initiating reliance on foreign collaborations.
2. With the legalization of the dollar in 1993, the Cuban government opened 'dollar stores' that stocked goods missing from the bodegas, but were open only to foreigners. Cubans could no longer enter hotel lobbies, nor could most afford a hotel stay in dollars.
3. While *jineterismo* is a major source of money it is usually not the only source of income, nor does it preclude relations with only one man, but rather whoever is in position to pay. Diaz and Gonzalez (1997) outline three types of *jineterismo*: those who approach tourists in particular places (i.e. hotels, clubs, restaurants), those who approach tourists on central streets, and those who incorporate it into other practices such as massages, modeling, and dancing.
4. For the purposes of this article, my discussion centers on political, rather than scholarly, debates in Cuba that differentiate *jineterismo* from prostitution.
5. The neat racial boundaries of colonial Cuban society were being threatened and disrupted by free blacks, the increasing numbers of mixed-race Cubans, and imminent abolition. For example, although Cuba was one of the last countries in the western hemisphere to abolish slavery in 1888, children born to slaves were legally declared free under *coartación*, a practice registered in Cuba since the 1590s in which slaves could buy themselves out of slavery or purchase and negotiate for their freedom. Meanwhile, white men who demographically outnumbered white women had illicit sexual relations with colored women, producing interracial offspring.

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6. When physical appearance alone could not be used as a factor to ascribe status, reference to one's ancestry and honor, something outside the 'slavery' system, was appropriated as a device to maintain racial subordination (Martinez-Alier, 1974: 71–4).
7. Baptism records in Cuba officially registered information about ancestry. Since 1776 legislation regulated marriages and interracial marriages were prohibited. 'Pure bloods' required a formal license to marry as couples had to be of equal status. Yet, only whites were in jeopardy of dishonor as licenses were not required for blacks since they were already deemed impure and did not need to be 'protected' under the law (Martinez-Alier, 1974: 30, 71).
8. See Martinez-Vergne (1999) and Suarez-Findlay (1999) for a similar discussion in reference to Puerto Rico.
9. The concept of *blanqueamiento* refers to ethnic, cultural, and racial 'whitening'. It is an ideology as well as a social practice, which is a major form of racism in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Blanquemiento* is a system of beliefs that places socioeconomic advancement and success in relation to racial 'development', such that 'whitening' as an adaptive strategy, physically or culturally, is emphasized as a precursor for upward mobility.
10. Kutzinski (1993) highlights how the highly sexualized and racialized discourse on national culture acquired currency in early 19th-century Cuba.
11. *Casas de Recogidas* is translated as houses for captured or collected women. Similarly *Casas de Beneficiencia,* or 'benefit houses', existed in colonial Puerto Rico (Martinez-Vergne, 1999).
12. Alvarez Estevez (1976) recognizes how discourses surrounding the *Casas de Recogidas* affirmed the need to save and protect wayward women; yet these institutions were designed to transform public women into social resources that could bring revenue to the administration, rather than be a response to a threat against health and moral decay.
13. In 1898 Cuba gained its independence and ceased to be a Spanish colony.
14. All registered/regulated prostitutes were provided a *cartilla*, or small notebook, which documented their identity and other information such as the results of their medical inspections. Sanitary visits at the medical clinic were required of all registered women at least twice a week, and if they missed an examination they were fined and taken by force by the police to the clinic (Alfonso, 1912: 102–3).
15. Registered prostitutes could only work in these *Zonas de Tolerancia* which were supposed to keep prostitution from dispersing and prevent incidence of venereal diseases. The behavior of prostitutes was monitored and they were forced to reside and work at assigned addresses within the *zonas*. The *Servicio de Higiene*, (Hygiene Service), administration supervised the *zonas* and sent out collectors to collect state taxes under the rationale of 'tolerating the vice'. Brothels outside the *zonas* were only permitted in the capital and had their own set of stipulations.
16. Other related early government efforts included the establishment of the Tourism Police that oversaw the collection of information about women, the creation of local clinics by the Ministry of Health dedicated to the

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investigation and treatment of female prostitutes, and the prohibition of practicing prostitution until a woman could see a doctor and have a rigorous physical examination. For example, blood tests were required of prostitutes to ostensibly guarantee minimal health, while also allowing for surveillance and observation. FMC, 1993: 17, 22).

17. For example, in his book *Ambitos de la Nacionalidad*, Dr Amando Fernandez-Moure Jr argues that a high rate of Cuban women have 'that which serves to incite the criteria of '*puteria, sateria*'. He writes:

> The mix of African and Spanish evolutionary sexual experiences, basically, and the interdependence and influence of the social '*costumbrista*' idiosyncrasy of these cultures toward sex, provide the appearance of a hybrid with differentiated characteristics of occidental culture in the referred to sexual practice: in other words the rise of the 'Latino', within which the Cuban is found, that possess an ardor and a form of having sex rarely common in other races . . . [the] existence of a high percentage of women who prefer to keep practicing prostitution as a form of biological satisfaction. Around three thousand women between twenty-one and twenty-eight years of age confessed to suffer from what was commonly known as a 'uterine fire' [my translation]. (Valle, 2002: 185).

18. The Ministry of the Interior took additional measures to control prostitution. It prohibited artists without a union membership from working to avoid prostitution being covered up under artistry. Only men could use *casas de dormir*, guest houses. Renting a room had to be authorized by the Department of Prevention and Social Security of MININT and could only be rented to students of the Universidad de La Habana if in close proximity to a student's center of study. Officials also maintained constant surveillance of cabarets, observing women who repeatedly frequented such locales and often left with other citizens. Upon such observation some of these women were detained, while others signed a document promising to abandon the activity (FMC, 1993: 23).
19. Elizalde also maintains that *jineterismo* is not an 'office', because in general women do not practice it with any particular frequency, making a calculation of those actually involved in such practices difficult and unpredictable (1996a: 26–7).
20. The study also cites poor personality development, low intellectual levels, inadequate elaboration of ideas, scarce capacity of interests, and the absence of self-criticism amongst *jineteras* (Mazola Fiallo et al., 1996).
21. 'They took from me all the knickknacks that I got from the last foreigners I was with. It's clear that the people have lost their moral values!' (Mazola Fiallo et al., 1996: cover).
22. For example, in 1992 Castro basically promoted Cuban women as promoters of tourism and calling attention to their health, education, and agency. He stated:

> There are no women forced to sell themselves to a man, to a tourist. Those who do so, do it on their own, voluntarily, without any need for it. We can say that they are highly educated and quite healthy because we are a country with the lowest number of AIDS cases . . . therefore there is truly no tourism healthier than Cuba's. (Paternoso, 2000: 20)

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23. Services or items beyond sex can directly or implicitly be exchanged such as companionship and conversation for gifts, a meal, or a night out, and so on. Given this lack of monetary exchange, *jineterismo* is sometimes also understood as 'romancing' a tourist or developing a relationship with one. It may involve falling in love and establishing long-term relationships.
24. Others like Elizalde (1996b) comment that *jineterismo* is not about hard work or great effort. Rather, it is 'un trabajo suave' (easy work) that feels 'like every day is a party'. In addition, *jineteras,* unlike prostitutes, have the luxury of choosing their clientèle and do not associate with just anyone. They can 'have a good time' and are 'treated like ladies' (1996b: 6–7).
25. State dignitaries advocate that *jineterismo* is 'different and particular' to Cuba. They argue that in other underdeveloped countries, prostitution is a strategy of survival and its practitioners are at the bottom level of the social pyramid, victims amongst victims. Whereas in Cuba, a nontraditional prostitution predominates because *jineteras* have higher levels of 'culture' and education. In addition, they do not consider *jineterismo* a strategy of survival because Cuba has an abundance of people who can live without working. Therefore, *jineterismo* becomes a reflection of the cracking of spiritual values at social level (Elizalde,1996a: 72 and Elizalde 1996b: 26).
26. At this time officials began to have a series of discussions with people who worked in hotels, and other tourist venues to try to develop tourism without prostitution. Fidel himself commented that he 'wanted to hear that when a family said they wanted to visit a country that didn't have rented sex, drugs, delinquency, gangsters . . . they would say Cuba' (Elizalde, 1996a: 66).
27. For example a *Playboy* article featuring Cuban women describes the island as 'a land of dark, sensuous women' (Cohen, 1991).
28. This issue, for Cuba's opponents, represented the failure of socialism and the downfall of the regime (and/or a reason to intervene). For example, in an October 2003 speech President George W. Bush discussed cracking down on illegal travel to Cuba, arguing it would 'also serve another important goal. A rapidly growing part of Cuba's tourism industry is the illicit sex trade, a modern form of slavery which is encouraged by the Cuban government. This cruel exploitation of innocent women and children must be exposed and must be ended' (White House Archives, 2003).
29. Prostitution in Cuba was never a *delito* or offense; it was removed from the Penal Code in keeping with the claim that it had been by and large eliminated after 1959. Thus additional cases are processed within the index of '*peligrosidad*' as 'antisocial conduct', a catch-all category described as 'a large bag that they put every kind of people [in]'. In line with this structure, suspects are issued three official warnings. Once a suspect is held against three warnings, authorities are required to convict and sentence that person. At this point, authorities are given 72 hours to evaluate the details of a case and return the offender to their territory of origin (Elizalde, 1996a: 61, 66).

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30. These measures have their supporters. For example, Elizalde maintains, 'to be just, the numbers of people processed for this cause [*jineterismo*], three hundred eighty five in 1995, and two hundred thirty five into 1996, is not high if you compare it with the various thousands of people who have received warnings for engaging in prostitution related activities' (Elizalde, 1996a: 66).
31. One strategy to avoid police detection was to marry municipal residents so individuals could move freely. For example a report listed that in only three days at least 25 marriages were registered (Elizalde, 1996a: 62).
32. During my fieldwork many Cubans would contend that there were no racial discrepancies in *jineterismo*, arguing that it crosses racial differences. This perspective was often supported by the classic definition of *mestizaje*, citing revolutionary martyr Jose Marti's nationalist rhetoric 'there is one race the Cuban race', and upholding the myth that racial differences no longer exist in Cuba. Because racial differences didn't exist, *jineterismo* was 'just a non-politicized issue of what preferences tourists have'.
33. Remittances are Cuba's second largest source of income. Yet, most that have family outside of the island are white, adding to increased racial segmentation (De la Fuente and Glasco, 1997).
34. During an interview, one colleague recognized the continued colonial legacy of racial stereotypes affirming: *'Los Españoles le gusta 'las negritas' porque en realidad los españoles, a ellos le llaman la atención, que todo la vida fue así, desde que España vino a Cuba, el lio con la africana, ahí salió la mulata, la criolla . . . eso siempre ha sido así..por su forma del cuerpo, es que los mas han tenido'* [Spanairds love black women because in reality for Spaniards black women call to their attention, it has always been like that, since the Spanish came to Cuba, that fascination/fuss with the African, that's how the mulata, the criolla emerged . . . it's always been like that . . . because of the form of her body, that what she's always had].
35. Similar to the colonial era, contemporary public discourses encode national Cuban identity while simultaneously promoting sexual and racial stereotypes that exploit the bodies of women of color. For example, at the local tourist market one can purchase ceramic figurines of black women with larges busts and big buts, wearing low cut dresses with a protruding thong and a cigar hanging out their mouths. Cigar boxes, wrappers, and rum bottles contain pictures or are named after the iconic *mulata*. Internet tourist promotions for Cuba continue to include images of scantily clad women of color.
36. Several Cuban rappers protest in their songs against the onslaught of daily racial profiling from police. In Habana, a group of black youths actually starting pinning their *carnets* (identity cards) to their shirts and hats. During my fieldwork I encountered a rapper who had his carnet number tattooed on his forearm so that when asked by the police he would just have to show his arm instead of always having to find his *carnet*. Having their *carnet* on them at all times is especially important for AfroCuban men and women, particularly the youth.

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37. The renowned Cuban salsa group *Los Van Van* had a popular song that spoke of '*la enfermedad de los jefes por tener, salir, acostarse, y diverstirse con muchachas de menor edad a la suya* [the sickness that bosses have for having, going out, sleeping with and having fun with women younger than them] (Valle, 2002: 188).
38. Valle (2002) also highlights two additional, but related, phenomena during this period. The *putishas/pinguishes*, who were often invisible to eyes of Cuban society, were Cubans who raised their level of life and got money from the exchange of sexual favors with Soviet staff and workers on the island. The Russians, called *bolos*, had access to supplies, food, recreation areas, and other facilities of life not readily accessible to Cubans. Thus Russians became major providers for the black market for decades. In this context many Cubans developed relations with Russians. For example a Soviet report documented that 64.3 per cent of Russian laborers on the island married a Cuban between 1981 and 1989. Meanwhile, relationships developed with other international allies of Cuba, such as with Africans. While less frequent and mostly in specific regions such as Isla de la Juventud, Habana, and Santiago, agreements developed between Black Cuban and African students studying together in the mid 1980s. According to Valle, these afroputas developed new interests in consumption and paid in sexual favors for clothes, garments, appliances, access to CUBALSE dollar stores limited to foreigners, or marriages to facilitate leaving the country. Thus it seems that the purity of Cuba's international socialist cooperation resulted in the emergence of incipient and/or clandestine forms of prostitution (Valle, 2002: 90–2).

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